/269/

131 Of the two centers of Bororo habitation situated, one to the
361 northwest of Cuiabá and the other east-southeast of the same city,
[648] the second today is made up of three groups of native villages:
[799] those of the middle and upper São Lourenço, provided with residents of the Service de Protection des Indiens /Indian Protection Service/, those of the Garças River, in the diamantiferous region, supervised by the Salesian missions, and lastly the three aldées /villages/ of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori on the Río Vermelho, a tributary on the left bank of the upper São Lourenço, which have been less directly affected by religious and administrative
101 influences. We stayed in the most important of them, the Kejara
132 aldeia, during Janauary-February, 1936, at the time when the
648 rainy season completely isolates the natives from the rare contacts which they are able to have at other times of the year with the Brazilian population; besides, the latter, never very numerous, some time ago completely evacuated the region, where material
563 and sanitary conditions seem particularly unfavorable. Aside from two telegraph operators, only a few families of fishermen, leprous for the most part, live only on the banks of the rivers.

361 Kejara aldeia occupies a wide, partly natural clearing on the left bank of the Río Vermelho right on the riverbank and is bound on the south, west, and east by red sandstone escarpments.
241 Native gardens—manioc, maize, and rice—extend for several
137 hundred meters all around the village, closely mingled with the forest or brushwood which is beginning to come up again. Across
231 them, as across the village, freely wander some hens and ducks,
177 presents of the Protection Service, which live today in a half-
[223] wild state and /270/ have to be shot with the bow to be caught.
621 In January-February, 1936, Kejara aldeia comprised, in addition to the "men's house," 27 houses, /each/ inhabited for the most
621 part by several families. The total population, impossible to
162 evaluate in a precise fashion—part of the village is constantly
[221] away, some fishing, some hunting, and some either visiting or on a mission to other native villages, amounted to approximately 140 people, the number of women being less than that of men,

571 /301 cont./
614 the beams frequent in most of the other habitations. It is perhaps possible to interpret this apparent contradiction.

614 According to the Salesian missionaries (1) who have been in
616
621
622
[115] constant contact with the Bororo of the Garças River for about 30
[597] years, the Čera phratry comprised, at the time of their arrival in the region, seven clans, two of which were Bādejeba—one Bādejeba Čâboge^{w}ō or Akario Bokodori, and the other Bādejeba Čębege^{w}ō or Bakorokuddu. These two clans occupied the two ends of the Čera hemicycle, and each gave a chief who governed the village in collaboration with his colleague. The Bādejeba Čębege^{w}ō, however, held a pre-eminent place.

571 Whether it be that the social organization on the Río Vermelho
614 (on which we have no information) has always been different, or
616 that political revolutions have taken place in the course of the
621 last years, the Kejara situation has only a distant resemblance to that described before. As we have seen, the division into Čębege^{w}ōge and Čâbōge^{w}ōge is made in relation to the direction of the river, whereas on the Garças River it is explained, it appears, by a difference in ground level. But /302/ above all, if one accepts Colbacchini's description as historically and locally exact, two big differences must be noted: the disappearance of the Bādejebage Bokodori, and the fragmentation and partial change of place of the Bādejebage Bakororo.

Without our asking, our informants, when describing the distribution of clans in the village, pointed out to us the site of the Kario Bokodori clan (Fig. 15 /see p. 6/, between No. 2 and No. 3, or between No. 3 and 4). This clan became extinct at a relatively recent date, since there were still objects bearing its mark in circulation in the village. Before or after this disappearance, a profound change seems to have taken place among the Bādejebage Bakorokuddu. A group of families, among them that of the principal chief, undoubtedly moved toward the upstream

1. Colbacchini, op. cit.

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8
Otuké SF18

THE BORORO

By Robert H. Lowie

TRIBAL DIVISIONS AND HISTORY

The *Bororo* linguistic family comprises two major branches, the *Bororo* proper and the *Otuké* (Créqui-Montfort and Rivet, 1913). Culturally, the *Otuké* must be considered with the tribes of the Province of Chiquitos (Handbook, volume 3). Ethnographically, the *Bororo*, at least of the *Eastern* subdivision, are far better known.

I. *Bororo:* (1) *Eastern Bororo;* (2) *Bororo da Campanha;* (3) *Bororo do Cabaçal;* (4) *Umotina* (*Barbados*), formerly between the upper Paraguay and Sepotuba Rivers, peaceable since 1913; remnants survive in Barra dos Bugres; (5) *Bororo* of the upper Rio Cuyabá; and (6) *Bororo* in the Minas triangle (aldeas of Sant' Anna, Pizarrão, Lanhoso, and da Pedra, founded in 1741 with *Bororo* from the Rio dos Porrudos as a protection against the *Southern Cayapó*. In 1811 part of the aldea das Pedras was transplanted to Bananal, an Araguaya River island. The fifth and sixth groups are now extinct.

II. *Otuké:* (1) *Otuké* proper, about lat. 17°–18° S., long. 59°–60° W.; (2) *Covareka*, about lat. 17° S., northwest of the preceding; and (3) *Curuminaka*, just southwest of the Guaporé headwaters, lat. 16° S.

The *Bororo* subfamily centers in Matto Grosso, but extends slightly across the Bolivian border and into western Goyaz. Excluding the virtually extinct groups noted, we may recognize a *Western* and an *Eastern* subdivision. The former includes the *Bororo da Campanha* (*Campina*), i. e., the plains dwellers southwest of the lower Rio Jaurú, an affluent of the Paraguay River; and the *Bororo Cabaçaes* (*do Cabaçal*), north of the Jaurú River on both banks of the Rio Cabaçal. The *Eastern Bororo*, or "*Orarimugudoge*," to whom the blanket term "*Coroados*" has sometimes been applied, extends from lat. 15° to 18° S. and from long. 52° to 56° W. The three subtribes live about (1) the upper and middle São Lourenço River; (2) the Rio das Garças, a tributary of the Araguaya River; and (3) the Rio Vermelho, affluent of the upper São Lourenço; here are the villages of Kejara, Pobori, and Jarudori.

In 1888, Von den Steinen (1894) visited a São Lourenço group which had been settled at Thereza Christina, near the Prata-São Lourenço confluence, southeast of Cuyabá. He set the population at 350 and heard that it had originally been 1,000. Another group was then settled at Izabel, at the Pequiry-São Lourenço confluence. In 1901, W. A. Cook (1907) visited eight villages in this region.

The Rio das Garças district has been missionized by Salesians since 1902, Colbacchini describing the natives in a major treatise (1925). In 1934, Baldus (1936) visited Sangradouro, Meruri, and Tori-paru, villages in this area, and estimated that less than 1,000 *Bororo* lived east of the Paraguay River. In Tori-paru he found a little over 100 residents, 35 men occupying the men's house.

Lévi-Strauss (1936) investigated the village of Kejara of the Vermelho division and estimated its population at 140. This is probably Frič's Kejari (1905), since moved to a different spot.

In 1894, J. Koslowsky (1895 b) saw some *Western Bororo* in Descavaldos and across the Bolivian border.

In 1931, Petrullo (1932) took photographs of the *Bororo da Campanha* and on the São Lourenço River. His excavation of sites at Descavaldos revealed pottery and a method of interment different from those of the *Bororo* and presumably pre-*Bororo*.

INTRODUCTION

131 The Bororo live in the western part of Mato Grosso,
178 Brazil. The area they inhabit was formerly much larger, extending on the east across the Bolivian border, on the north
[161] to Cuiabá, and on the south to Coxim. Today there are only about five hundred Bororo, most of whom live in two areas, one on the upper part of the São Lourenço river, and the
[65] other to the south of the Rio das Mortes. The first is en-
[79] trusted to the Indian Protection Service, the second to the
[177] Salesian missionaries. The territory of the Bororo is becoming smaller and smaller because their lands have been taken by cattle ranchers.

241 The Bororo are fishermen, hunters, and gatherers, and
[22] they also cultivate small fields of corn, manioc, and rice. However, they are not fond of farming and they put relatively little work into their plantations. They cut and burn trees and brush, they sow, and when the crop is ready they harvest; weeding is practically nonexistent.

361 The villages are circular, with the men's house and the ceremonial plaza in the middle and the women's houses around
[513] them. Unmarried men and initiated boys sleep in the men's
[512] house. Married men sleep and eat in their wives' houses, but they too spend most of the day in the men's house making tools and ornaments or just chatting.

114 /112/ The Eastern Bororo have already been described in such detail by Karl von den Steinen and by Padre Antonio Colbacchini that only a few particulars were still left for investigation, especially in what touches on the problems of individual and social life and of cultural change.

131 175 In the middle of the last century the hunting territory of these Indians extented from the Rio Paraguay up to near the city of Goyaz and from the Rio das Mortes up to near Miranda, therefore from about 50° 30' to 57° 30' west longitude and [648 181] from about 15° to 20° south latitude. It has been believed up to now that the Bororo did not go so far south; but the Tereno who live in the environs of Miranda told me that in past times the hordes of Bororo had frequently come to their aldeias, not making war on them, however, because, as the old Tereno chief Naliki said, in order to explain this inclination toward peace: "Bororo is very savage and does not stay."

22 [241] But the Bororo were not by any means just a wandering people. They spent only three months of the year, more or less, on large hunting expeditions. The rest of the /113/ time they settled down, planted maize, which they had known from a long time ago, gathered wild fruits, hunted and fished in the environs of their aldeias.

648 167 It is thus, more or less, still today. Only their territory is reduced. In the east, west, and south, they were driven back by the whites, and in the north they had to flee from Indians still unknown, to whom the Bororo give the name of Kayamo.

• 797 131 In fear of all their neighbors, the Bororo came, more than thirty years ago, to the Salesian missions, which were at that time established on the old road between Cuyabá and the Rio Araguaya. From this road, in other times infested by them, therefore from about 15° 30' south latitude, their present territory extends to about 17° south latitude and from about 53° to about 55° 30' west longitude.

The two principal missions of the Salesians among the Bororo are presently the São José colony on the Rio Sangradouro, tributary of the Rio das Mortes, which the people simply call

/113 cont./

797 Sangradouro, and the Coração de Jesus colony on the Rio
131 Barreiro, tributary of the Rio das Garças, which is generally
designated by the Bororo name Meruri, "place of the rays."
[114] I was in these missions in January of 1934. The road from
Cuyabá to the first one is about 50 leagues; and from there to
Meruri is still about 20 leagues.

133 Sangradouro is located on a height of 625 meters, and
Meruri on a height of 470 meters. The observatory of
132 Sangradouro verified, from its founding in the year of 1924,
as average temperature, 27°. The maximum took place in
/114/ January of 1926, with 38°; the minimum on June 20 of
1933, with -5°. The barometric average in Sangradouro up
to now is 715. The observatory of Meruri confirmed as
maximum temperature in the year of 1933, on August 26,
37.4°, as minimum of the same year, on June 22, -1.3°.

In Sangradouro the great freeze of June of 1933 nipped
132 the bananas, manioc, sugar cane, tomatoes, coffee, mango,
241 avocado and the buriti, while the plants with thorns, such as
orange trees, lemon trees, and the rose bushes did not suffer
at all. In Meruri they plant maize, rice, manioc, sugar cane,
vineyards, pineapple, and other fruits.

162 In January of 1931, 37 Bororo families, which numbered
[161] 185 individuals, lived in Sangradouro. In January of 1934
only 5 families were there, composed of 11 adults and twelve
children.

On January 18 of 1934 28 Bororo families lived in Meruri,
that is, 32 men, 28 women, 33 children of male sex and 44
children of the female sex, 137 individuals in all.

[131] In the environs of the prospectors' settlement Poxoreu,
which arose more or less in 1925 on the west bank of the Rio
Poxoreu, at about 54° 20' west longitude and 16° south
latitude, and which in May of 1933 numbered 254 houses
with 824 inhabitants, there lived among the Brazilians, in
[166] January of 1934, 70 Bororo, for the most part men. Fifty
[797] of them had emigrated in the /115/ previous year from

/115 cont./

Sangradouro to there; they told of having come at the invitation of Padre César, who for eight years had been director of Sangradouro and was transferred to Poxoreu in 1933. The Salesian house, which has existed there since 1932, is administered by a padre and a lay brother; it is, however, only visited by these Bororo when they want to ask for alms or for protection against their white neighbors. The 20 other Bororo of Poxoreu came from the aldeias controlled by the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios.

Four of these aldeias are located in the forest of the region of the Rio Vermelho, therefore more or less at 16° 30' south latitude and between 54° and 55° west longitude; and there is another one about 20 leagues to the southwest. According to a statement by an official of the Commissão de Proteção aos Indios, Snr. João Arena, these five aldeias had about 500 inhabitants in 1933.

Between Rondonopolis and Lageado, a prospectors' settlement that arose there around 1920 at 16° 20' south latitude and 53° 50' west longitude and numbering today more than 2,000 inhabitants, is still found a similar Bororo aldeia named Tori-paru (tori means in Bororo: stone, hill, and paru: underneath, at the foot of; therefore, the name of the aldeia means: at the foot of the hill). It is said that the village has existed since 1929, having had 50 inhabitants in 1933. On the thirty-first day of March of 1935 I counted 35 men in the men's house. Some men were absent, hunting. The total number of the inhabitants who lived in the six houses of the aldeia was, including women and children, more than 100. They live off plantings of manioc, rice, beans, and /116/ papaya /Port. mamão, fruit from a tree called mamoeira/, and, in part, by working on the neighboring plantations. Tori-paru is located about two leagues west of Lageado.

The Bororo of these six aldeias are in contact with the Brazilians, but for the most part are less influenced by our civilization than the Indians of Sangradouro and Meruri, although many of the present inhabitants of the aldeias were previously in these missions.

/116 cont./

000 previously in these missions.

161 The total number of the Bororo who live east of the Rio
162 Paraguay does not reach 1,000, to the extent that it was possible for me to verify.

142 The Bororo are tall and athletic Indians; the men are at times, taller than 1.75 meters. Since the climate and the water on the Mato Grosso plateau are the best in the world,
261 the state of health is good. It is true that the Bororo, at times, damage it by their passionate geophagy. The earthen walls of the mission buildings in Meruri were crumbled in many places despite being renovated three times a year. Whoever found himself near these walls, be it man, woman, or child, would take a piece and eat it with pleasure.

177 It seems that the manner of nourishment imported by our
178 civilization does not have a favorable effect either. Whereas in former times even the elders still had all their teeth, today
164 many young men and women have already lost a large part
262 of their set. The Bororo point out as the cause of this the
[827] fact that in the old days they would take the drinks and foods lukewarm, whereas now they take them /117/ almost always very hot; and at times also the water is very cold. I was not able to verify the effect of our salt on the Bororo. In any case they have known it a brief time.

291 Although these Indians wear the clothing that the missions
177 furnish them, the men often still wear, under the trousers,
• 797 the penis cover made of oauassú /babassu/, and the women, under the skirt, the traditional garb of bark.

304 Many adults and also children still have the decorated
177 pendants in the pierced lower lip and in the ear lobe. But those who still have the hole in the nasal septum, in which the clan of the Akario Bokodori Baaddageba puts its insignia
301 of arara feathers, are few. Head ornaments are still frequently worn by the men. Many adults and children wear pretty and narrow ribbons on the arms and cords on the chest and abdomen.
302 Painting the face is also still appreciated.

/118 cont./

114 Karl von den Steinen and Padre Antonio Colbacchini have already reported many interesting things about the social organization of the Bororo. But there is especially one problem which has not been studied in detail up to now: that of the position of the woman among these Indians.

562 Among almost all the primitive peoples of South America
482 it is the woman who carries the load during the marches, while
[114] the man walks only with the weapons in his hand. Because of this, the majority of the observers who provide intelligence on this subject give her as oppressed and a slave. And thus speak not only the travelers who are satisfied with a quick examination, but also men who lived in contact with a tribe for many
[797] decenniums. The Salesian padres also talk this way about the Bororo; and add that, in their missions, only now has the
121 woman been made equal to the man. But this way of observing only proves that, in order to know men, it is not absolutely important to spend a whole life beside them and /119/ treat them as seems good to us; it is necessary, for this purpose, to observe and to respect the minimum details of their thinking, of their feeling, and of their actions, that is, to try to observe with their eyes the world and them themselves.

844 Anciently manifestations of the man's behavior with respect
593 to the woman appeared already on the occasion of a delivery.
[171] While among the majority of the other Indian tribes of South America it is customary for the husband, ostensibly, not to concern himself with the woman in labor, leaving all the assistance to an experienced old woman, among the Bororo the future father would personally carry his wife into the forest, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo splinter after
[113] the delivery, tying on a thread (Karl von den Steinen: Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens, Berlin, 1894, p. 503).

562 The question of preference regarding the births of males or females can also give evidence as to the position of the

/121 cont./

842 757 avoid conception and pregnancy by means of some potions and tisanes which they obtain from roots, /122/ leaves, and bark of plants -- and they are familiar with a great variety of them, to which they attribute efficacy for the desired purpose. The woman and the man take them, not only once, but many times. The action itself of these remedies is very relative and problematical; it seems that many draw their value from superstition, as I had the chance to verify. The effectiveness of some of the potions that are called Jorubo bó et ore bocus-re-u, however, cannot be denied. To judge by appearances, the substances that they use most to avoid conception are in general very astringent, their active element thus probably being tannin."

847 The Bororo also told me that they used different abortive methods. According to Colbacchini (o.c., p. 59), "they induce abortion by physical means -- hard work, carrying enormous loads, blows on the abdomen, or an exaggerated compression of it ... or also taking some foods or beverages that might produce such an effect."

Also Karl von den Steinen (o.c., p. 503) mentions that abortion by internal means is frequent. As far as we could see, one cannot draw from the limitation in deliveries among the Bororo any conclusions with respect to the position of the sexes.

163 In this matter it is interesting to examine the number of births, as I was able to verify with the help of the parish books on the eighteenth day of January of 1934 in the mission of Meruri. Of course it is to be noted in this respect that the influence of the Salesians produced basic changes.

177 191

In the following list, the numbers that follow the names /123/ of the parents indicate their probable years of life. Ay after these numbers signifies widower or widow from a previous marriage.

/148 cont./

578 411 [123] embracing him. Besides this, the men tie some whole skins of the tail of the ray on the calves of the leg and then throw the leg between the upper parts of the enemies' thighs. In the missions as well as in Tori-paru I was able to acquire these weapons. Not only by means of them, but also with their nails pointed especially for this purpose, the women [562] scratch the face and the body of the antagonist. While doing it, they utter many sharp screams, while the men fight in silence, except, if the ounce were the adversary, they would try to irritate it by means of shouting.

562 578 521 152 The Bororo women do not fight only because of jealousy, but also when their children do some harm to one another or when they themselves get furious because of some gossip. Quickly they become friends with one another, in order to be able to tell scandalous stories about friends. By doing this, they try to find out the secrets of the new friend, gossiping about her afterwards in the same way as about the /149/ others. The men likewise are masters at lying and slandering. And as happens with all the gossipers of the world, the Bororo too, man and woman, are supersensitive; and easily become irritated when someone finds something to say about them themselves.

586 178 593 Neither sex severely protects conjugal fidelity. In this respect the director of the mission of Meruri told me: "In the past they would separate when the marriage was not going well; today, however, the marriages being Christian, and thus indissoluble, the husband would thrash the woman." As I found out, at times these beatings go as far as homicide. It is said that even in the past too, although rarely, it would happen that the man would kill the woman, and that, on the other hand, it would also happen that the woman's relatives liquidated him with some vegetal poison.

562 114 797 If the Salesian padres affirm that the position of the woman in the past was worse than today, and that now in

/149 cont./

562 114 797 [593] the missions the Bororo woman is equal to the men, this opinion corresponds to their European mentality, convinced of the natural necessity of the predominance of the man, a mentality which judges the abandoned woman more worthy of pity than the one who is beaten. According to the same state of mind, the man is "lord in the house"; and the apostles in Meruri and Sangradouro tell with satisfaction that they have now changed, in the Christian sense, the customs of the Bororo, according to which the woman rules in the house.

121 /150/ But there is something that does not change in the Christian sense and does not let itself be oppressed forever by good or bad doctrines: it is the innate character of the individual, which consists of the will power, the singularity of his sexuality, in sum, the special composition of all his natural dispositions not acquired during life, but already born with him, a composition by which only the individual is individual and continues individual, that is, distinguishes himself from all the other individuals. Although the social position of the sexes for a people gives, to speak in this way, seen from outside, the form to the marriage, although it seems to determine, or at least tries to determine, the relations between the sexes, even in marriage, each marriage is given its own and true configuration, or, said better, its content, internally, from the characters of the individuals who are joined by it. Naturally, the characters not very pronounced are repressed by the norms of the society also in the marriage, since this is a formation which is on the boundary between the social and the individual being. How many men are there among us who would like to be dominated by the woman, and play the role of the inexorable lord and master, instead of producing the force necessary to conquer with his individuality the influence of the conventions created by the predominance of the masculine sex!

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 797 533 776 The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

/441 cont./

175 1845 and 1846, left us a small vocabulary; the engineer
[113] Rodolfo Waehneldt gives a very clear description from the year 1863 in the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico, Volume 27; finally, the collector Richard Rohde, who in 1883-84 traveled in the southern Mato Grosso under the sponsorship of the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde, set down a few statements in No. I of the Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin /Original Reports from the Ethnological Division of the Imperial Museums of Berlin/ (1885).

175 These Bororó of the Campanha and of the Cabaçal are re-
648 garded as the remnants of a once powerful tribe which occupied the region between the Rio Paraguay and Rio Cuyabá, lived in bitter enmity with the colonists, disrupted communications especially between Cuyabá and Villa Maria and Mato Grosso, and was broken up into numerous subdivisions long since destroyed.
[797] In the 'twenties of our century the Bororó of the Campanha were the first /442/ to be persuaded to make peace, and in part to be baptized, by João Pereira Leite, a great fazendeiro near Villa Maria, who fought with them for six years, killed 450,
[2433] and captured 50.* Not until 1842 were the Bororó of the Cabaçal,

[553] * He himself became the godfather of the chief, who, as usual, regarded the baptism as a name exchange and told everyone proudly: "My name is João Pereira Leite."

the ones usually described, induced to settle down along the Jaurú by "mild persuasion and gifts" on the part of the vicar in Mato Grosso, José da Sª. Fraga; they proved to be very stubborn about farming, however, planted only a little maize, batatas, and bananas, and preferred to nourish themselves chiefly from hunting with bow and arrow. Today the Bororó on
178 the right bank of the Paraguay are a miserable, degenerate lot.
[177] They were quite unable to bear civilization with its lures and whiskey.

/444 cont./

114 have joined them, they have changed their language to a thieves'
[101] idiom (!). In Cazal (Corografia brasilica, p. 302) two hordes of
[113] Bororós are mentioned: the Coroados, or shorn ones, and the
[131] Barbados, bearded ones. The former are not navigators, but nomadic hunters who are said to dwell to the south and southwest of the city of Cuyabá in inaccessible wildernesses on the sources of the Rio de S. Lourenço and the Rio dos Mortes, a tributary of the Araguaya." These statements by Cazal are perfectly accurate and true, and he, too, thus recognized the "Coroados" as Bororó. By /445/ "Barbados," Martius goes on to say, perhaps the Guató are to be understood, they sometimes attacked caravans traveling from Goyaz to Cuyabá and extended their raids as far as Diamantino.
[101] The Guató, however, have never come into this region, they live as water nomads in the upper Paraguay region; those "Barbados" were probably Kayapó or even Bororó.

114 Martius, of course, explains the name Bororó according to
101 the lingoa geral, either, if coming from the neighbors, = "warriors, enemies," or, if they themselves say it, = "we, the masters of the soil." The Bororó, however, know nothing about the lingoa geral and they call themselves this.

●797 I shall now drop the name "Coroado" altogether; I shall report some things about the so-called "catechesis" or conversion of this Bororó tribe, which was attempted in vain for many years, but could scarcely have succeeded because the attempts were carried out in the most topsy-turvy manner. A military colony
[648] set up on the right bank of the S. Lourenço, which was established toward the end of the 'seventies by Major J. Lopez da Costa Moreira, served as the base.

648 In 1878 one Captain Alexander Bueno with 70 Terena Indians, a tribe belonging to the Guaná group, undertook an expedition "to drive out the Bororó." He had been secretly instructed, as I was assured, to shoot to death as many as possible and was favored by success to such an extent that he was able to show the President a bag full of ears. Of living ones he brought along two women and two children.

/446 cont./

648 women climbed over the garden walls and climbed trees, as was their habit, to fetch down fruit for themselves.

The province sighed with relief; with customary exaggeration, the Bororó were estimated at 10,000 souls and the entire 10,000 were already visualized as planting mandioca and working in the sugar mills. The government immediately made 70 contos (at 1000 milreis) available for the catechesis and the citizenry voluntarily added three contos, which altogether amounted to about 140,000 marks at that time. The expenses increased within a short time to 118 contos. The Indians were [361] settled in two colonies: the one where the Prata flows into the S. Lourenço was called Thereza Christina after the Empress; the other where the Piquiry flows into the S. Lourenço was called Izabel after the Crown Princess and wife of Count d'Eu. The President also founded a "Collegio de Nossa Senhora da Conceição" for the education of Indian children -- a school that was never attended by pupils.

648 Solemnly the entire company was baptized by the bishop.
799 The then President, Don Alvaro Marcondes, and his wife were godfather and godmother for all; Chief Moguyokuri, whose personal acquaintance we shall make -- truly a magnificent figure of an Indian, 1.9 meters tall and, despite some inborn brutality, an exceedingly good-natured gentleman -- was given the name Alvaro. His Christianity, to be sure, was limited to his remembering this name for a few days.

648 "Muguiocury," reported the Jornal do Commercio in a
[177] Cuyaban letter, "seems to be completely identified with the cause of civilizing his tribe, assiduously visits the palace to call on the President and bring him presents; he manifests the greatest sympathy toward him and calls him 'Godfather,' kissing his hand as often as he sees him. Each time he meets the President he shows his satisfaction with much laughter and repeated embraces."

Difficile est, satiram non scribere /it is difficult not to write satire/. It is indeed very difficult. Good Moguyokuri undoubtedly had the best intentions, within the limits of his intelligence, as